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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

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About thirty years ago[303] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

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668 cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve dif-
●794 ferent kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. Some Indians, following these injunctions, vomited so often that their lives were endangered by it.[303] They were, further, strictly ordered to fast, and to take nothing but Beson. Few persevered in this absurd practice the required length of time.

Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft and practice virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of the good spirits, which they call *Tschipeghacki*, the "land of spirits," where the life is happy and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. Formerly the Indians only knew of a good place promised to the virtuous, but they did not know where the place was. The preachers pretend to have found the place, which lies to the south. The passage thither is the milky way which may be seen in the heavens on a clear night. They venture also to describe the appearance of the place for there are Indians who have been dead for several days and returned to life who have been there and have told of the things seen. Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared — all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and bilberries, large as apples, and will observe that the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.

In this they all agree that the bad Indians, who have not lived as these preachers exhorted them, will not reach the place, *Tschipeghacki*, but must remain some distance away, able to see

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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

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This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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668 God. Thus it appeared that through him Satan endeavored to
794 rob the gospel of its power over the Indians.

As long as the preachers did not proclaim things evidently untrue they were held in great regard and had a considerable following withersoever they went, for they never remained long in one place, else their deception would have been revealed the sooner. They still preached in Gekelemukpechünk [304] when the Moravians came to the Muskingum. Soon thereafter they began to be too coarse, seeking to establish their teaching in opposition to the gospel. This brought about the end of their influence. One has since heard little of them and the most have died. For at the last they preached that whoever would believe in them and follow their direction would be happy in the chase and in all other undertakings, would be able to cross sea and land, would reap plenteous harvests even though little had been planted. The Indians who trusted in them soon saw that they had been deceived and that they had been brought to starvation by the treacherous preachers. Then the power of the latter was at an end.

782 Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the
796 earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.

[848 In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant,
602] is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter. As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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on a hill, where he was first seen, and told the people how to obtain his power. The mask owners formed a society, which

FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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One of his Indian informants defined the kind of "bad folks" who would be unhappy in the hereafter as "those who lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends, and especially to aged parents, and, in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." These would be excluded from the "Happy Hunting Ground," not so much as a punishment to themselves, as to keep them from rendering unhappy the spirits of the good inhabiting the "beautiful town." 775

Zeisberger.—About 1748, according to Zeisberger,[37] a number of preachers appeared among the Indians, who claimed to have traveled in Heaven and conversed with God. Some exhibited charts of deerskin upon which were drawn maps of the Land of Spirits and figures representing other subjects used in their preaching. Some of their ideas concerning the Son of God, the Devil, and Hell, are evidently derived from the whites; others seem more aboriginal in character, such as purification by emetics, twelve different kinds being used. He wrote: 775 794

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"Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. They preached a system of morals, very severe for the savages, insisting that the Indians abstain from fornication, adultery, murder, theft, and practise virtuous living as the condition to their attaining after death the place of good spirits, which they call Tschipeghacki, the 'land of spirits,' where the life is happy, and deer, bear and all manner of game are abundant and the water is like crystal. There nought was to be heard save singing, dancing and merry making. [821] . . . The passage thither is the Milky Way. . . . Whoever reaches that place will find a city of beautiful houses and clean streets. Entering a house he will see no one, but have good things to eat placed before him, a fire made and a bed prepared—all of which is done by spirits invisible to him. Others assert that such an one will see the women coming with baskets on their backs full of strawberries and billberries, large as apples, and will observe the inhabitants daily appear in fine raiment and live a life of rejoicing.—The bad Indians . . . will not reach the place, Tschipeghacki, but must remain some distance away, able to see those within dwelling happily, but not able to enter. They would receive nothing

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death, but not suffering them to die."

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Zeisberger usually specifies when his information is derived from tribes other than the Lenape, from whom most of his data were procured; so it is probable that the following quotation applies to them, although in part somewhat at variance with our other knowledge. He says:[38]

"They believe in the immortality of the soul. Some liken themselves to corn which, when thrown out and buried in the soil, comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun, and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God, and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence many believe . . . that they may have been in the world before.

"They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill."

Such was the Lenape belief with regard to the powers that control the world, and such were his notions concerning the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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them and told them what to do to get his power. When a man put on a Mizink he received the power of this person or spirit; he could even see behind him, and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkl'ntlka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O*^{n}-*o*^{n}-*o*^{n}*!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive account of their ceremonies is now remembered, it was said that they sometimes put down their rattles, heaped up

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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794 796 751 the ashes from the two fires, then threw the ashes all over the house to prevent the people assembled from having disease.

755 794 796 Should any sick person appear, he or she would be especially treated with ashes. Sometimes the performers would pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

532 778 [126] Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray stock or driving deer, characteristic attributes of the Mask Being of the Unami. The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

"But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	713
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	744
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Judgment immediately after death		+!				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	164
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	757
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	+	+	+	−	756
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+		−	+	+	−	−	
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+		−	+	+	Wa		755
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	Up	Up	343
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up		Up	Up	
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+	s	
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		+	−	
Consumption					+				+	−	−	+	
Pleurisy						+			−		+		
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	
Dysentery				+					−	−	•	−	
Rheumatism				+	+						−		
Boils				+									
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	−	−	+	+	
45. Cupping common				+									
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
47. Medical profesion	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	−	−	−	−	
49. Called by divine agency in youth													
50. Count pulse													
51. Inquire into nature of complaint													

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

775 177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

771 177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national 794 797 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known, was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.[1] I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.[2]

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

[1] See *post*, pp. 93-97.

[2] Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beat- [533
ing with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops sing- 535]
ing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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period of the ceremony when the cross-marked drumsticks are put aside to yield place to the image-carved sticks, the ceremony takes on a more exclusive meaning to its celebrants, corresponding to the advance of the soul into a more exclusive realm in its progress toward the ultimate. 775 787

After proceeding past the cross-roads the spirit led his soul to the mountain upon which rested the bird previously mentioned (C in the sketch). This station is called teo'las endala'usi·t, or endale'lamukuk, "bird where he lives". This creature bears the name Ge'k'exonu'kes "Storm-maker". And it is he who by the motion of his wings causes storms and winds to rage over the earth below.[1] [821]

The next landmark in the course of the journey after passing by the mountain of the big bird was the abode of the Thunder, pe't'hakowe endale'lemukuk, "thunder where he lives" (D in the sketch). On these heights the way was obscured by smoke, clouds and lightning, from which sources the tempests descended upon the earth. It was a terrifying place.

Beyond this mountain of storms the soul of Elkhair could not pass, but he could, notwithstanding this, behold a still more distant ridge of mountains (E in the sketch) called "pe'maxtiŋ "mountain ridge". While it was forbidden for him to approach nearer he could at least hear the voices of departed souls beyond enjoying their heavenly existence. Here, he was told, the souls are resting until the end of the world when all shall be enabled to cross over the next gap to the final stage of the journey to where the Great Spirit sits. Here souls dwell without care, worry or sickness. But it is exclusive for the Delawares because only those who have been adherents to the Big House can become qualified for this existence. [794]

This, the last stage of cosmic existence is that remote height of heaven where the Great Spirit rests supreme, looking down upon his creation, with his hand resting upon the staff he holds in his hand, which is, in the Delaware mind, symbolized by the center post of their Big House. No one of course knows what the final abode of souls is to be like, since Elkhair had no revelation concerning it. This realm is called lənape'ehat, "Delaware where he goes".

It should be recalled that these stages of the celestial pilgrimage are the "levels of heaven" mentioned before in the explanation of the ceremony, numbering twelve in all (see page 26).

In commenting upon the assumed nature of souls, Witapano'xwe added that the soul appears as an image, without flesh, and that it is thought to look the same as it did in its earthly form.

In explaining the peculiar esoterism of the Delaware creed the informant said that exclusion of aliens was not a fixed property of 775 794

[1] Identical with a belief current among the Wabanaki.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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775 the system, since it was understood that if a person had lived in ac-
794 cordance with all the Delaware doctrines, by being admitted to the teachings of the Big House, his soul would go where the Delaware soul goes. This would mean that the individual had become an adopted Delaware both in body and spirit. He cited cases of Indians of other tribes who had married into the nation and become members of the ceremonial group. Such aliens also acquire the privilege of being buried in a Delaware cemetery, their funerals being celebrated with Delaware rites. This honor was accorded to his father who was born a Cherokee. He remembers hearing the chief say at his father's funeral, "All things to which the Deleware is entitled to are bestowed upon this soul".

Finally we may again remark upon the consistency with which the whole conception links together the life of the living Delaware, the state of his soul and the classical figurism of the Big House.